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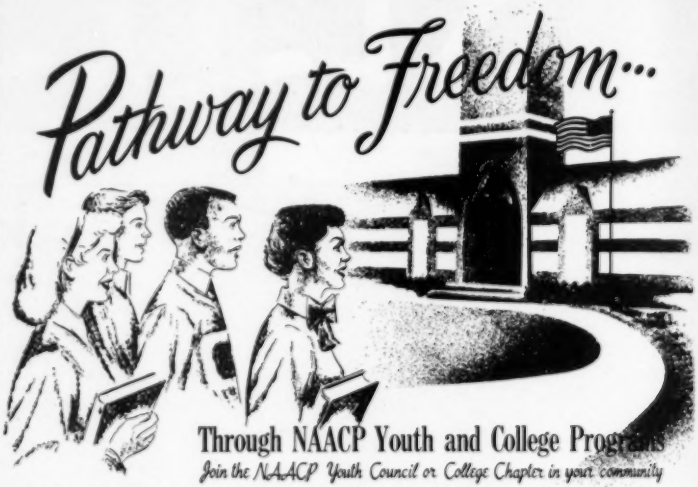

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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THE RED CAPS *of the New York City Pennsylvania Station presenting Thurgood Marshall (second from left) a* $502 *check in payment for life membership in the NAACP. The men,* 170 *strong, are members of Local* 602 *of the United Transport Service Employees Union (CIO). Presenting the check are W. E. Majors (left), chairman of the executive board, and A. W. Maxwell, secretary-treasurer.*

■ Why there is no room under the American system for open defiance of the Constitution

The War Against the United States*

By Roy Wilkins

ON May 31, 1955, the United States Supreme Court handed down its decree in the school segregation cases, reaffirming the constitutional principle in its 1954 opinion that racially segregated schools were unconstitutional, and turning over to the lower federal courts the task of seeing to it that local school boards made plans and took action with all deliberate speed to abide by the ruling.

The reactions to this decree among our good white people ranged from one extreme to the other. The Richmond, Va., *News Leader* published an angry editorial, "Now Its the South's Turn," on June 1. In effect it called for rebellion, (although by what it termed legal means) for resistance for fifty years, if necessary, and concluded that in the minds of many Southerners "as soon as practicable" meant never at all.

Joining the *News Leader* in language not nearly so finely turned was that eminent journal of the state of Mississippi, the Jackson *Daily News*, which declared in plain street corner phrases that it intended to defy the Supreme Court.

At the other end of the scale was the attorney general of Oklahoma who advised his state that Oklahoma statutes requiring segregation of the races in the public schools were now invalid and that compliance with the Court's decree was in order. Since May 31 approximately 100 communities in Oklahoma, including all major cities, have desegregated their school systems.

There has been no friction. No vigilante groups have been organized to protect this and preserve that.

* This article is a composite of two speeches delivered at Kansas City, Missouri, and Charlottesville, Virginia, respectively, and of a statement made September 17, 1955, to a Senate committee opening hearings on Constitutional rights. ROY WILKINS is Executive Secretary of the NAACP.

The two races are not looking at each other with suspicion and fear. What our white friends are fond of calling "peaceful relations between the races" have not been upset. Apparently no one is worried to death about his bloodstream. Oklahoma just decided to remain a part of the United States of America and to let God and good sense help it in solving a problem in the American way.

The contrast between Mississippi on the one hand, and Oklahoma on the other, is important because it points up what is actually underway in a number of states in the South today. The unpleasant but plainly discernible fact is that a war has been declared and is being fought against the United States of America. It is a war against the right of petition, against legal redress of grievances, against the exercise of the franchise, and against equality under the law.

VISIBLE TARGET

The immediate and highly visible target of this warfare is the Negro, but the real target is the United States, its Declaration of Independence, its philosophy, and its Constitution, all based upon equality of citizenship. The dissenters will have none of this equality if it is to be brought, as the Supreme Court opinion brings it, to actual practice in everyday life.

As long as equality remained in the archives of the nation, in the speeches in Congress, or in Fourth of July orations, it was acceptable. But the transfer, after so many years of hypocrisy, to the nation's public school classrooms was much too much. For one thing—and an extremely practical thing at that — what would happen to the whole intricate, comfortable and profitable structure of white supremacy if the children and youth should learn, side by side, that group superiority and inferiority based upon color is a myth?

A small segment of this predicament is found in the remark of a registrar of voters in Mississippi who protested a new law requiring written examinations for voters. Said he: "When you have written blanks in the files, with maybe a white man's back to back with a Negro's and the Negro has answered the questions correctly and you have disqualified him, how do you explain it? There are some things you don't want known."

So, some of our white people have gone to war against their country. They don't mind the government making statements, but they draw the line at opinions and decrees. In this war other states may choose debate, but Mississippi chooses murder. It was to be expected that Mississippi, with its record of more lynchings than any other state, would be the worst performer. But not even those who knew Mississippi well expected that the hysteria would extend to the killing of a 14-year-old boy.

A jury of their neighbors has acquitted the two men accused of the murder, so Emmett Till must technically be listed as having come to his death at the hands of persons unknown. But while his killers were only one or two or three persons out of the whole population of Mississippi, the entire state must take the blame for his death. For the people

of Mississippi had created, or had sat by and acquiesced in the creating of an atmosphere of physical violence directed at Negroes.

MISSISSIPPI FORUM

From no less a forum than the floor of the Mississippi state legislature in September, 1954, came the call to organize councils of white citizens to preserve segregated schools, to keep Negroes from voting in elections, and to act against those whites who seemed to be sympathetic in any way with the aims and aspirations of the colored citizens.

To only a pious and scrupulously correct declaration that the councils did not favor violence were coupled inflammatory calls to "all white people to unite" and instructions on economic pressures to be used to beat Negroes down. The highest state officials issued their statements. The editors wrote their editorials, often dragging them over from the regular page to page one to secure attention. A United States Senator made a speech defying the Supreme Court and calling for war on the NAACP. A circuit judge wrote a book called "Black Monday" and demanded the impeachment of the Supreme Court.

A gubernatorial primary election campaign turned into an anti-Negro circus, with all five candidates trying to outdo each other in inflammatory denunciation of the Negro and his cause. Much of this language, duly reported in the daily press, is sub-gutter, even for politics.

The White Councils grew in Mississippi to a claimed membership of 50,000—at a minimum of $5.00 per member. They pursued their "nonviolent" methods on Negroes, declaring that any one of them who sought his civil rights would find it impossible to get a job, get credit, maintain a business, or have a home.

In this atmosphere the Rev. G. W. Lee was shot to death in his car in Belzoni, Miss., on May 7. He was the first of his race to register to vote in his county and he had refused, under pressure, to remove his name from the list.

In this atmosphere Lamar Smith was shot to death in broad daylight on the courthouse lawn in Brookhaven, Miss., August 13. He was active in getting Negroes to register and vote. Brookhaven is the home of the judge who wrote "Black Monday" and who would impeach the Supreme Court.

In this atmosphere Emmett Louis Till was murdered in or about the town of Money, Miss., August 28. For the essence of the Mississippi atmosphere is that it is all right to mistreat Negroes, young or old—even to kill them—in order to maintain white supremacy. No one was arrested in the Lee murder; no indictment could be secured in the Smith murder; and the accused men in the Till murder were freed after about an hour's deliberation.

Some Mississippians deplored the Till murder, but few, if any, have deplored, disavowed, or denounced the reign of terror that made it possible.

NEGROES VICTIMS

In this cold, calculated, officially endorsed campaign Negroes have been the immediate victims, but the real target is the United States. Mississippi is saying "to hell with the

Constitution" and it is saying it in the crudest and bloodiest way of any state.

Some other states are saying the same thing without (as yet) bloodshed. The Old Dominion, she of the proud tradition and the aristocratic manner, is pronouncing in rounded phrases what Mississippi says in whoops and hollers.

Virginia has its 30-day contracts for teachers, a suave but cowardly maneuver, unworthy of a great state or a just and secure people, akin, in effect, to the threat of the night rider. Here we have an attorney general who slanders a whole people as being immoral, diseased, and criminal. Here we have a pillar of journalism, crying in careful but meaningful sentences that the region will *never* accede to a ruling of the nation's highest court. Here we have the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties knocking down once more that battered old straw man, intermarriage.

In North Carolina there is also defiance, but, generally speaking, of the less blatant, less sure nature. One gets the impression that thoughtful North Carolinians would like to find an honorable way out of the ranks of rebellion. In the climate of opinion that has been created by the political hierarchy many Tar Heel residents are reluctant to say they would like to try desegregation, but they aren't by any means sure they want to participate in open defiance of the United States.

Like so many southern states, North Carolina was sure "her" Negroes did not want desegregation. Her officials said only a few members of the NAACP wanted it. But, like all the rest, North Carolina found that more Negroes than she suspected detested segregation and wanted to get rid of it.

It cannot be repeated too many times that Negroes do not tell Southern white people what they think about segregation and civil rights. Even the Uncle Toms do not tell whites the truth. Negroes tell whites only what is necessary to keep the peace and get along in the little worlds that we both inhabit.

Well, having discovered that we did not want segregation, some white people organized to make us take it.

Down in Orangeburg, S. C., a state senator made a speech saying white people should talk to the Negroes "in our employ" and show them the value of segregation and the evil of the NAACP.

And they have been doing just that, from the East Coast to East Texas. Many people who have signed petitions to their school boards have been fired from their jobs. Others have been evicted from their rental homes. The Citizens Council in Yazoo City, Miss., bought a full page advertisement in the local daily to publish in big black type the names and addresses of all signers of the petition. All the employed ones were fired in 24 hours. One plumber was pulled off a job, refused supplies for further work by a supply house, and had to leave for Michigan.

ECONOMIC SQUEEZE

One grocery store owner got his last delivery from a wholesale house on August 26, the day after the advertisement appeared. On September 18 his shelves held a few crackers,

three cans of milk and some dried up celery. He is out of business and gone to Chicago.

In Ft. Smith, Ark., the president of our NAACP branch returned from the Atlantic City convention to find that his job in a local glass works had been shifted from one at $3.02 an hour to a night shift at $1.82 an hour—and that job was subject to some kind of arbitration hearing. He was told by his foreman that he spent too much time doing NAACP work.

The economic boycott in any case is a dangerous, two-edged sword. When used to force citizens to renounce their rights it is a reprehensible practice. The NAACP does not sponsor boycotts. But in a sense this is a life and death struggle. In such a struggle the word gets around as to who is knifing whom, and with what. In such a struggle innocent bystanders in faraway New York, Ohio, Michigan, and California can get hurt. We don't want any part in this economic squeeze business. An American should not have to choose between his civil rights and his livelihood. That is slavery. We were finished with that 92 years ago, and rather than return to it in any form, our people will defend themselves and their rights as free men with every available weapon within decency and the law.

NEGRO LOYALTY

For we are law-abiding citizens. In all this struggle we have voiced hatred for no man. This is *our* government, *our* America. We have no other land. We have sweated for it. We have died for it. While suffering its deepest humiliations, we have clung fast to it and defended it from detractors, those without and within. We are determined that, having helped make it a good land for others, it shall also be a good land, a fair land, a just land for us.

But if the First Amendment to the Constitution is now flouted in flagrant fashion as to the right of petition, the Fifteenth Amendment which protects the right to vote without discrimination as to race or color has been disregarded in some states for so long a time that any attempt at enforcement is viewed in some quarters as un-American and subversive!

The circle created by the abrogation of the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment is a vicious one. The Negro citizens suffer indignities because they cannot vote, and they cannot vote because of the terror of the indignities. It should be noted that naked intimidation merely buttresses the trickery contrived in studied and open fashion to prevent their entrance to the polling booths. Under the pretense of setting up qualifications for voters, several Southern states have devised legislation to bar Negroes from the polls. No one denies this; indeed, it is a subject for unashamed public gloating.

Under this system of denial of the franchise, democratic government in the affected states has been destroyed. In most places the Governors, state legislatures, town councils and local officials are under no obligation to respond to the wishes or needs of large sections of their populations. Moreover the Representatives and Senators sent to Washington not only ignore their Negro

constituents, but consider it their duty to block any and all legislative or executive efforts on the federal level to make constitutional government a reality in their bailiwicks.

The defenders of this network of nullification, the perpetrators of this war on America, have declared (when they have bothered to explain at all) that they act as they do to "preserve Anglo-Saxon civilization." The very essence of Anglo-Saxon civilization, of course, is the protection of the precious rights and liberties of the individual from the tyranny of other individuals and groups, and from government itself. Nothing could destroy Anglo-Saxon civilization more quickly than the abrogation of the guarantees in our Constitution. We Negroes fight to preserve and enjoy these guarantees not only for ourselves, but for all Americans. We are unwilling to abandon our white fellow citizens to the tyranny that would ensue, even if we were not a factor, if the pattern of abrogation herein outlined should become permanent.

We will win because we are in a time of history when the clock cannot be turned back to the Nineteenth Century. A slogan is also a truism: Time marches on! The Supreme Court opinion was in great part a recognition of this fact. As we see it, far more was involved than the sitting of a court "different" from that of 1896. Far more, too, than is contained in the easy characterization of the opinion as "political." The dynamism of the American system was at stake. Its ability to change and grow was on trial. On a great moral and political question it had to decide between, roughly, 1880 and 1954.

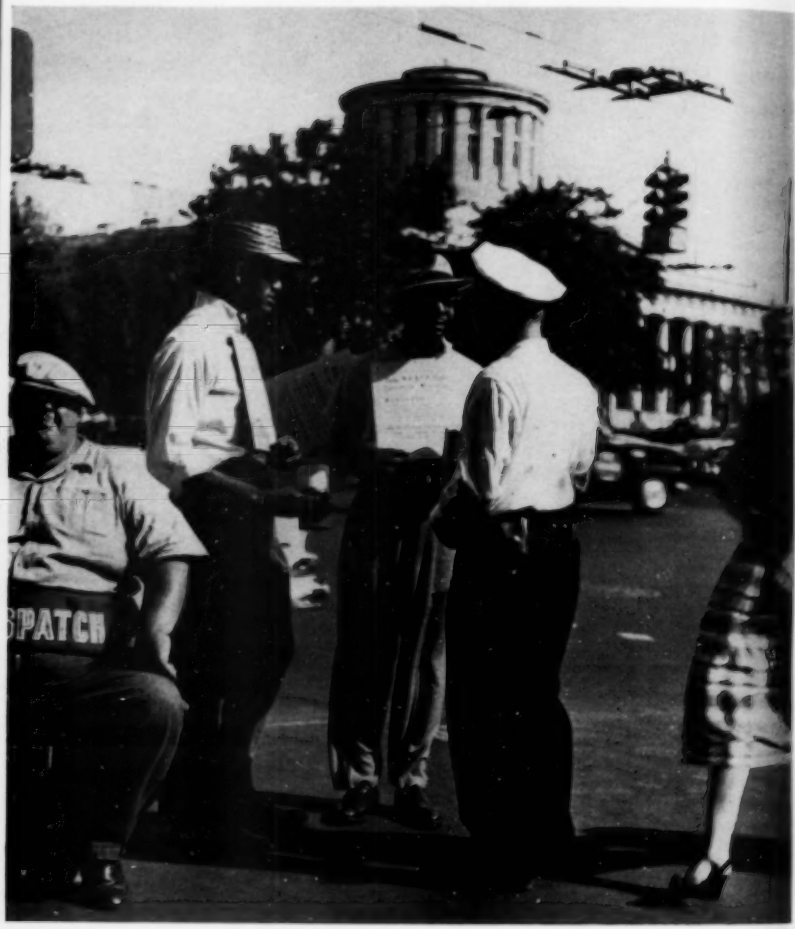
I repeat that the Negro is the acid test of the American democratic system. It may be, God forbid, that after 179 years we are to discover that the Declaration of Independence will not work as to "all men." Our Western world may founder on the problems of the color lines. It does not have to be so. We can work at it, looking squarely at the realities of the world of 1955 and beyond, the kind of world not envisaged when the Emancipation Proclamation was signed in 1863. Each of us in his own sphere, using his personal skills and good sense, calling upon his moral convictions, or calling, if you will, upon his own self-interest, is obligated to declare himself and to enlist in the crusade.

For the peril to every American embodied in the deliberate defiance of the Constitution is obvious. Under our government there is and must be room for disagreement and debate and there is and must be procedure for orderly and lawful change. There is, however, no room for defiance and rebellion. That way lies disintegration and anarchy.

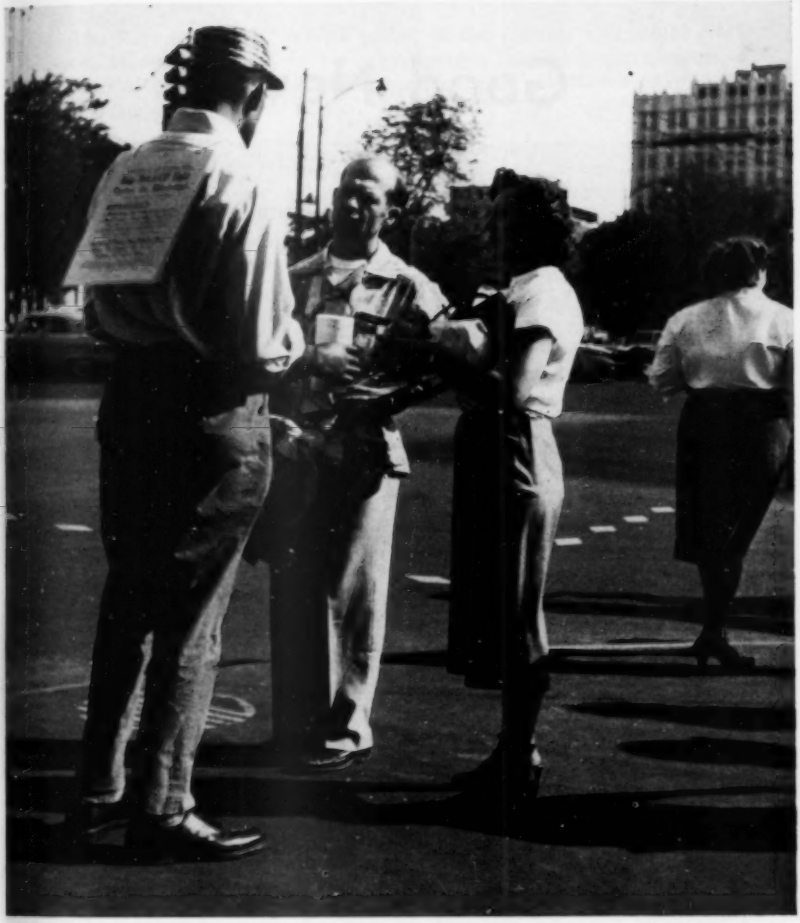
I cannot put it better than has the distinguished novelist, Nobel prize winner, and native Mississippian, William Faulkner, who, in commenting on the brutal murder of the 14-year-old Negro boy on August 28, said:

"Perhaps we will find out now whether we are to survive or not. Perhaps the purpose of this sorry and tragic error committed in my native Mississippi by two white adults on an afflicted Negro child is to prove to us whether or not we deserve to survive."

PICTURES *on the next three pages cover the fund raising efforts of the Columbus, Ohio, branch in response to Thurgood Marshall's appeal to help fight terrorism in Mississippi. A willing passer-by makes a contribution to the special fund.*



"YES, OFFICER, *we have our permit," explains Emmett Bassett and Barbee Durham (facing camera), who are soliciting funds in the special efforts of the Columbus branch. Robert Mix (not pictured), stalwart branch worker, also helped on another corner of busy Broad and High Streets.*



EMMETT BASSETT (*back to camera*), *Ph. D. student at Ohio State University, who has taken time out from his studies to help the Columbus, Ohio, branch, explains to interested passers-by what is going on down in Mississippi.*

Good News

DR. ALLEN F. JACKSON

Dr. Allen F. Jackson, of Hartford, has been elected chairman of the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights. Dr. Jackson was appointed to the Commission for a five-year term by former Governor Chester A. Bowles. He was reappointed in July 1955 by Governor Abraham Ribicoff.

Dr. Jackson has been a member of the national board of the NAACP since 1943. He is former president of the Hartford branch of the Association.

The Rev. Clinton L. Wilcox pastor of the Greater Centennial AME Church, Mount Vernon, New York, has become the first Negro member of the National Exchange Club. He has been accepted into membership in the Mount Vernon unit.

★ ★ ★

The Rev. Simon P. Montgomery, of Old Mystic, Connecticut, became (in October) the first Negro to minister to a local all-white congregation. The 33-year-old pastor, a native of Pinesville, South Carolina, was unanimously invited by the congregation to become pastor of the Old Mystic Methodist Church.

★ ★ ★

Dr. M. Ralph Hadley has been unanimously elected president of the McKeesport, Pennsylvania, Hospital staff physicians, becoming the first Negro in the McKeesport area to serve in such a capacity.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Howard Thurman, Dean, March Chapel, Boston University, was guest speaker on November 5 at the annual meeting in celebration of the 40th Anniversary of Karamu House, Cleveland, Ohio. Karamu House was founded in 1915.

★ ★ ★

Harry Belafonte, with Millard Thomas as guitarist, entertained the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum's second session with ballads. Belafonte, who is America's foremost balladeer, is now appearing in The Empire Room of the Waldorf Astoria in New York City.

★ ★ ★

Earle Hyman plays the role of a lieutenant in the hit comedy, "No Time for Sergeants," now playing at the Alvin Theatre in New York City.

★ ★ ★

Franklin H. Williams, Secretary-Counsel, West Coast Region NAACP, held a series of civil-rights conferences and mass meetings in Anchorage, Alaska, in October. Mr. Williams also had conferences with important officials of the territory.

"Of all mortal things there is nought so unstable and transitory as the name of power which stands not upon its own native vigor and basis."

Cornelius Tacitus

Inside You And Me

WE print below parts of two letters written by white women on the Emmett Till murder and trial. One comes from a white woman living in Toronto, Canada, and was addressed to Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam. The other comes from a white woman in Fort Worth, Texas, and was addressed to Governor Hugh White of Mississippi. Both letters were actually mailed to their respective addressees.

Although the withering irony of Mrs. Kirkpatrick's letter is wasted upon the poky, brutish murderers of Money, Mississippi, we are sure our readers will appreciate the real challenge of this letter. Mrs. E. H. Johnson's letter is that of "an outraged American woman" who wants justice done.

Here is part of the letter of Mrs. E. Kirkpatrick of Toronto, Canada, addressed to Roy Bryant and J. Milam:

"Dear Sirs:

"Just read an account in a newspaper covering your trial of how one of you read your mail and chewed gum in court. So thought perhaps I could help by sending along a little food for thought and quiet contemplation in your hours of solitude. You know that quiet hour just before we fall asleep, when its nice to reminisce of days and years gone by. Someone wrote these words years ago:

" 'Oft in the chilly night, ere slumbers chain has bound me.
Sweet memory, brings the light of other days around me
The smiles, the tears of childhood years
The words of love once spoken.
The eyes that shone, now erased and gone
The cheerful hearts — now broken.' "

"This may not be quoted verbatim, but it helps give an idea of what I mean. However I do feel sure that this tedious formality of a trial will soon be over and you will be free again to rejoin your families to share in all the joys of parenthood that are so dear to us all. Young or old, black or white. It makes no difference. I'm sure you hope with me that the real murderers are soon apprehended and brought to justice. Just how this could be accomplished I don't really know. Capital punishment is too dignified a death for murderers of helpless children. Don't you agree? Why should the officials

who perform at these affairs be asked to soil their hands by touching these loathesome creatures. They can't be men. How about just tying them up in an open field and let the maggots, and the vultures and all the cravers of carion dispose of their putrid flesh.

"Do you recall the sickening revulsion and shocked disbelief we all felt about the kidnap murder of Bobby Greenleese? And you know I think this was worse, don't you? At least that was done for a reason . . . the lust of money. But who can say why this inhuman deed was done? Speaking figuratively, for all we know, it may have been done for a snap of the fingers, or a song or a whistle.

"It was nice of you two to take this little boy for a ride, before his so brief life was terminated. Just beginning to learn what life was all about. You know I'll bet that this was more wide open spaces, more fresh air more beautiful countryside than the wee fellow had ever seen in all his impoverished fatherless years. Suffered from polio too I understand as a baby which left him with a glandular disturbance causing him to be big for his age—physically. Speaking of beauty, Mr. Bryant, your wife is what my little boy would call a lulu. You know if I were a man or even a boy of 14 I might be tempted to whistle myself. But who could put any interpretation or credence in the whistle of a boy. All boys love to whistle. Ever see a little boy of 14 whistling on his way to the swimin' hole? Cute! And as for insults or indecent suggestions isn't that typical of a 14 year old? Away from parental control, on a holiday just overstepping bound for awhile. But they know not of what they speak. For all their big talk they are still babies. There are times when I could give them a good slap! But then you will both learn about this precocious unpredictable age in a boy.

"I have an idea what type of monster committed this crime. You probably know the type too. When they are small children their parents implant a germ of hate in their minds, and as time passes it grows, poisons and festers until there is no room in their stupid, twisted and puny little minds for anything else. The helpless beseeching cries of a terrified child will never ring in their ears, or assail their conscience—they have none. The uttter desolation and bottomless despair that this boy's mother feels will never touch their hearts—they have none.

"Bringing a child into the world is probably the closest we come to God on this earth. Ask your wives how they felt when they beheld their first born. And somehow I think that conversely when we wantonly take the life of a child we are as far from God as it is possible to get.

"Your wife Mr. Milam is a truly beautiful woman. In her face can clearly be seen the ravages of the suffering and remorse she is experiencing. To her goes my heart felt sympathy. Somehow I can't imagine her being scared senseless by a child's whistle. You know about a year ago a 15-year-old boy (colored) asked me for a date. I'm still laughing. How ridiculous can a 14 year old get? But then again you will see when your sons reach 14.

"In our uncivilized, underdeveloped

country the presiding judge at a murder trial when passing sentence of death on a condemned murderer says after passing sentence, "And may God have mercy on your soul," I'm going to say that here, now, for these bestial wretches, whoever and wherever they may be. May God have mercy on their soul or souls. They may walk as free as the air for the rest of their lives—legally. But they will surely die. They will be dead years before their bodies are interred.

"A brave man dies but once—a coward dies a thousand deaths.' They will die a bit each day with all the accompanying tortures of the damned. Truthfully I would rather be little Emmett Till or any mem- of his family, wouldn't you?

"In closing I would ask you to keep this letter as a memento of this ghastly episode in your lives. The episode of having been inconvenienced by a trial. Keep it and read it from time to time.

"Especially I would ask you to read it to your sons on their 14th birthdays. If there is any part of it they can't understand and a 14-year-old mind isn't very comprehending you look straight into their eyes and try to explain it to them. Don't be afraid, look straight into those guiless believing eyes.

"P.S. I'm sorry I have no gum to enclose. Have just read where you have been acquitted. I won't congratulate you. It seems you received so many one more would be superfluous. However, now that you are free, perhaps you can help solve this crime that horrified the world and disgraced a nation."

Below is part of the letter of Mrs. E. H. Johnson of Fort Worth, Texas, addressed to Governor Hugh White of Mississippi:

"Dear Sir:

"I am writing as a white woman, a Texan, an American and the mother of a son, to see that justice is done in the brutal kidnapping and beating to death of young Emmett Louis Till. All citizens with whom I have discussed this are equally outraged. If America tolerates such a gross miscarriage of justice as to clear these two white men of the murder charge, then we can indeed be likened to the Gestapo of Hitler and the dreaded secret police of the Soviets who likewise go to homes in the darkness of the night and drag human beings by force from their homes. Even though this boy may have been guilty, he was entitled to punishment as a juvenile delinquent.

"Since when did the testimony of strangers take priority over a mother's identification of a body—a mother who bore and raised the son. Do you think if someone took my boy and beat him to a pulp and threw him in the river, that I couldn't recognize him? Also, if four white men came and took your son at gun point and he did not return, would you not assume that the four white men destroyed him? Why were the two men who were tried not forced to reveal the identity of the other two men who could have been state witnesses? Had the matter of race been reversed, the defendants would have been tortured until they confessed.

"Why was the woman involved not questioned as to what *actually* happened in the store. She would have testified to anything to save her hus-

band. Why was she allowed to say 'a Negro man' and hence the 'Where's the motive' indicated in the paper would not have pertained. Did the district attorney do all he could to execute the powers with which he was entrusted? This shameful beating which the 18-year-old Negro youth heard as actually was taking place is comparable to the Greenlease case. He was a boy. It took four men with guns to go in the dead of the night and get a boy and beat him to death. There is no telling the horror that he suffered.

"Think of his mother. Think of the Negro race. Think of the blot on Mississippi. Many say that this would not have happened in another state. Is it not up to you as a great leader to remember the words of Jesus? Color didn't matter to him. All during the trial I prayed according to the methods set forth by Norman Vincent Peale that the power of God would be with those jurors and that they would see that justice was done. How can the coroner, the doctor and sheriff who trumped up the weak excuse that the body had been in the water longer than 3 days —face their God. And there will be a day of reckoning. I earnestly pray that the men who committed the crime, those who aided, those who gave testimony to prevent justice, will hear the screams of that boy until their day of judgment. I pray that if white men failed to punish them, that God in His infinite wisdom will punish them in this way. I pray that Mrs. Mamie Till will be comforted and that Jesus will take her boy in his arms and comfort him and forgive him for any sins that he might have had. I pray that you and others to whom I am sending copies of this letter will start a great movement to see that justice is done. . . .

"I urge you to take the time to read this letter. It is not from a crackpot. It is from an outraged American woman who is taking action to see that the same justice is given for the death of a Negro boy as I would want for my own son. Do you have a son? How would you feel? Can we do less?"

Gain rimède pou toutt bagaille, excepté lan mô.
There is a remedy for everything—except death!

Haitian Creole Proverb

■ **From Right to Left, all sections of the French press violently condemned the Till murder and trial**

L'affaire Till in the French Press

FRENCH reaction to the Emmett Till murder and trial was swift and vehement. "Even the trial of the Rosenbergs," observes the liberal weekly *France Observateur*, "did not to our knowledge provoke such unanimity of opinion from the French press." The Rightist press, though somewhat hesitant about criticizing American judicial procedures, was much more vigorous than the Leftist press in its castigation of "the monstrous verdict of the Sumner court."

The comments varied in tone and intensity from the sober comments of the moderate *Le Figaro* to the satirical, sexy digs of the satirical weekly *Le Canard Enchainé*. Some papers limited their condemnation to Mississippi; others blamed the entire South for its segregation policies and the atmosphere of racial hatred which could produce such a trial; many others, on the basis of the trial and the verdict, raised sharp doubts about the sincerity of the United States in posing as a defender of human rights and of oppressed peoples throughout the world. Several papers commented on the United States Supreme Court public school decision and Mississippi's determination to resist desegregation. One or two papers, *Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, for instance, used the case to open up discussion of the American Negro problem in the light of the Sumner verdict.

Many papers carried the protests of distinguished Frenchmen as well as detailed reports of the various meetings held in Paris to protest the Till verdict. M. H. Lelong, writing in *Temoignage Chrétien*, apostrophized: "Ah! We must find someone to speak in the accents of a Péguy in the Dreyfus case or those of Bernanos in 'Grand Cemeteries Under the Moon" to tell the story of this poor, 14-year-old black boy whose only crime was that of being black."

In reporting the case the papers made effective use of photographs of the court sessions, the defendants Bryant and Milam playing with their children, seemingly callous of the charges against them, while their wives "mugged" for the cameras.

the shirt-sleeved court-room audience, Moses Wright, Mrs. Mamie Bradley, and the roadside sign boasting that Sumner is a "good place to raise a boy."

It is likewise significant that the French press, which usually takes a limited interest in foreign news, should have devoted so much space to a murder trial in an obscure hamlet in Mississippi. *Le Figaro* printed daily dispatches from its New York bureau; while other papers carried long pieces filed by their special correspondents.

There are several reasons for this unqualified French condemnation of the Till trial and murder. Number one, the Till case gave the conservative press, especially, a chance to criticize the United States for what the French conceive to be our holier than thou attitude in our strictures of their policies in North Africa. If we are so democratic and moral how does it come about that we have a Till case? They also pointed out that with the exception of William Faulkner no prominent American spoke out in public condemnation of this monstrous crime and the shameful Sumner verdict.

Underneath all the criticism there is the French resentment at American racial intolerance. Free of the more vulgar forms of race snobbery, they feel that in the Till case Americans have made too grotesquely much—murder—out of too pathetically little—a wolf whistle.

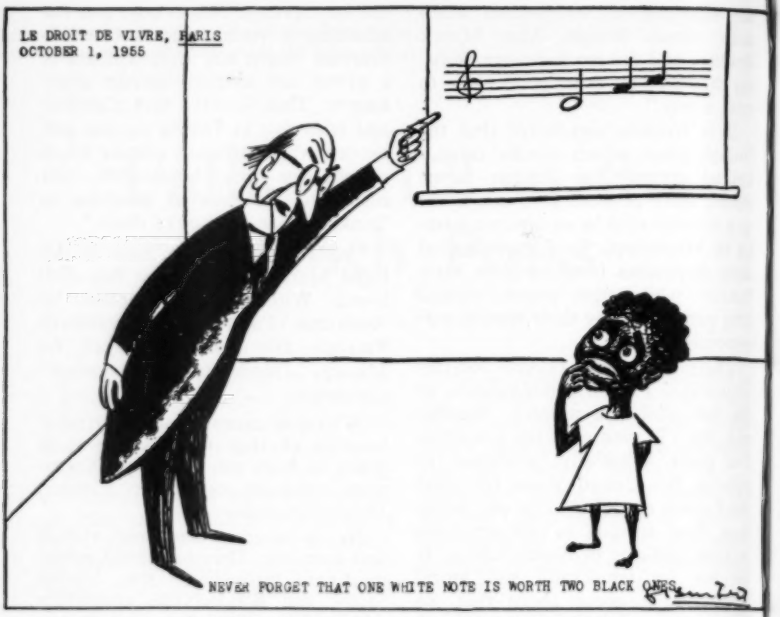
Another reaction is typically French, rooted as it is in the French assumption that a pretty woman should always be admired. To them it is inconceivable that anyone would want to kill a little 14-year-old boy, even a Negro boy, just for admiring a young woman. "A 14-year-old Negro boy wolf whistles at a pretty and shapely woman storekeeper. That is all!" says *Combat*, and adds that in France no one gets excited when Africans admire white women on the boulevards, nor rushes to get cans of gasolene to "make human torches of them."

Under the headline "Trial of Alleged Murderers of Negro Boy Followed With Intense Interest by American Public" the prominent Parisian afternoon newspaper *Le Monde* (moderate independent) comments:

A trial of exceptional importance, because of the repercussions it is going to have on American Negro-white relations, opened in Sumner, Mississippi, today. . . .

Negro reaction has been violent and dramatic. They have held public meetings throughout the United States and flooded the authorities with petitions asking for quick justice. The whites themselves have joined in the indignation. Both the authorities and the press condemned the crime and an investigation was soon under way. It has been a long time since we have seen such a manifestation of solidarity between the two races in the denunciation of a horrible crime. . . .

The public integration fight has worsened race relations. Mississippi is determined to disobey the Supreme Court public school ruling and has reacted violently against the efforts of the great Negro organization, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), which the racists accuse of being Communist. When the NAACP asked for federal intervention in the



— Et n'oubliez pas qu'une blanche vaut deux noires ! (Dessin de Grambert.)

CARTOON *on the Till case from* Le Droit de Vivre, *official organ of Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisemitisme (LICA) — International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism.*

Till case, which they consider a lynching (and lynching comes within federal jurisdiction), and displayed Till's body in Chicago, there was a quick shift of opinion in the white community.

Old prejudices were revived and the initial indignation soon disappeared. Reporters arriving in Sumner today were buttonholed by suspicious and surprised whites who insisted: "You are making a mountain out of a mole hill. . . ." As a matter of fact, the trial opened with everything in favor of the defense since only Emmett Till's uncle and mother were able to identify the body in the morgue as little Till's. Those who fished it out of the river doubted it was Till's. . . .

We must admit that just now we are witnessing a definite hardening of southern authority against public school integration, although it is slowly taking place when it is not sabotaged in certain states like Mississippi and Georgia. But despite progress much remains to be done.

In any case, the situation of the American Negro should make for more reserve and modesty in the destroyers of the other fellow's 'colonialism.' America also has her *medinas* [segregated native quarters in North Africa] and her ghettos.

As for the trial itself, *Le Monde* said:

It is true that the accusation was technically weak. Owing to the lack of material means and handicapped at the beginning by the solidarity of the whites, the prosecution did not present sufficient objective evidence to bring about conviction. What is much more serious is the sloppiness and the speed with which the defendants were judged and acquitted without the police having pushed the interrogations far enough. . . .

Le Figaro (moderate right independent) a morning paper, condemned the trial in much stronger terms. Under the headline "Shame on the Sumner Jury," the paper said:

The scandalous verdict of the Sumner, Mississippi, jury in acquitting Roy Bryant and John Milam of the murder of a Negro boy, when everything pointed to their shameful guilt, will arouse worldwide indignation.

We do not wish to question the authority of the jury, since the jury has all rights, even the right to make a mistake. This very right of an imperfectly human jury is what humanizes it in our eyes. But the jury did not make a mistake in Sumner, Mississippi. It followed the tradition that no white man must ever be found guilty in the South for killing a Negro!

And the defense lawyers could cry out—it seems they are as fond of melodrama in Mississippi as we are in Paris—: 'Should you find these men guilty, your ancestors will turn over in their graves!'

However, in Sumner they did not publicly demand the rights of the old slave-killers to slaughter their human cattle. What they did was to hypocritically allege that the body fished out of the Tallahatchie River was perhaps not that of young Emmett Till. Does this mean that the rivers of the South are so stuffed with the corpses of black children that one could be mistaken? But there could be no doubt of the identity of the innocent boy, even down to the bit of silver jewelry — the cliche of good melodrama — which identifies the lost son. But the mother still recognized the poor, battered face as that of her beloved son. No one denied, nor could deny, the midnight kidnapping at gunpoint of the unfortunate child from the home of its relatives.

So they tried to besmirch the victim. It was no longer the admiring wolf-whistle which had made Till obnoxious to Mrs. Bryant, they now became offensive words, suggestive gestures, and finally attempted rape in broad daylight in a public place. Such excuses dishonor only those who advance them. . . .

We do not generalize. We know that our indignation is shared by millions of better-thinking Americans. Nor do we close our eyes to faults, and even crimes, which have been and are being committed in other parts of the world. Today we would like to hear powerful American voices raised in condemnation of the Sumner verdict. And we are sure that if a similar crime were committed in France we would not find an indulgent jury. . . .

L'Aurore, conservative De Gaullist daily, likewise condemns the Sumner verdict as "shameful":

The two filthy murderers of the young 14-year-old Negro have been

acquitted. Acquitted to the enthusiastic cries of a racist public by a racist jury. It had already been said that these two brutes would not get the death sentence. There will be no electric chair, no prison. Tomorrow, perhaps, these two honest citizens of free America will return to their jobs to be saluted, admired, and praised just as if nothing had happened.

Of what importance was a beaten, martyred urchin when it was discovered that his skin was black. He had dared, this boy, to become enraptured in the presence of the wife of one of these GENTLEMEN. Then Mr. Milam and Mr. Bryant, after deep reflection, murdered.

'Bravo!' cried their friends between drinks of Scotch.

'Bravo!' thought the Sumner jury when it lent itself to the frightful comedy of denying that the body was the boy's.

Had the mother recognized it? What could a black mother say that would be of any value?

'Bravo!' said the lawyer for the two hilarious citizens, while making much of their personal relations with six of the twelve jurymen.

And 'Bravo!' cried the crowd when the 'not guilty' verdict was handed out on a platter, a verdict it had hoped for and expected.

The paper then adds:

The federal law abolishing segregation in the public schools has awakened the old—if we dare say so—non-atoned racist quarrel. Mississippi is one of ten southern states where the resistance of the whites to school integration has liberated violent instincts.

We must be on our guard not to confuse the United States as a whole with these southern states. Down South the people have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the Civil War. Though violence against Negroes (there are eight million of them in the South) has almost disappeared in the South, they still live under humiliating circumstances unknown to their brothers in the North. . . .

This trial does not serve the cause of the United States throughout the world. . . . When one pretends to give lessons constantly to others, when one is interested in oppressed peoples, one should start by watching what takes place in one's own house.

"Black is a Crime" is the title of an editorial in the Socialist Parisian daily, *Le Populaire:*

The problem is the eternal problem of colonialism, which is a manifestation of the eternal problem of racism. Colonialism is a problem in France, or was yesterday in Great Britain, whose colonies are overseas. The essential difference is that the United States has its colony in the very interior of the country, while a third kind of empire, the USSR, has its on its borders. . . . Not too many Frenchmen have the right to give lessons to Americans in this area. However, certain Americans have a tendency to give lessons to others before having swept before their own door.

The *Libre Artois* of Arras also emphasizes the pot-calling-the-kettle-black aspects inherent in the Till verdict:

Is not this a particularly odious manifestation of the colonialism that numerous Americans are so quick to denounce in others—often, alas, with justice, but sometimes with a total lack of humility?

Le Figaro also comments on the same point raised by *Libre Artois:*

For some time many voices in America have been raised in the name of morality and justice in condemnation of the actions of colon-

ialist France. It would be good that in the light of the verdict of Sumner, our friends in America, and even those who do not like us, should reconsider the question. We would like to know that important voices in America have been raised to deplore the verdict of Sumner. We are absolutely sure that a similar crime would not have found an indulgent jury in France. Let the preachers and the advisors on the other side of the Atlantic pause for a moment. Let them look at their own door-sill. They will then see this innocent victim and the applauded criminals.

Combat, independent Parisian liberal daily, titles one of its editorials "Slave Market and Murderers of the 'Free World.'" The paper remarks that everybody in the civilized world will condemn the shame of the Till Verdict—except people in Mississippi in the south of the United States.

The illustrated weekly *Radar,* under the headline, "Lynched for Having Admired a White Woman," says:

It is impossible to believe, but, alas, like many other exceptional crimes, this one is authentic. At Sumner in the state of Mississippi, a young Negro, Emmett Till, 14 years old, whistled in admiration at the young white woman, Mrs. Bryant. In Europe this is a homage which provokes a smile. In Mississippi it is the equivalent of a death sentence. . .

Another Parisian weekly, *Aux Ecoutes,* sums up the trial and its background in very strong terms:

Never was there a more abominable travesty of the truth. . . . Imagine a Negro who permits himself to admire a white woman, and what a woman. A cruel shrew who calls two men to take revenge for the outrage. . . . And this jury, which in spite of overwhelming evidence of guilt, acquits the two monsters. . . . And the judge who permits the two criminals to hold their children on their knees while they are teaching them to hate Negroes. And this press which relegates Negro journalists to a place from which they cannot see anything. And this country where no wave of indignation emerged after the acquittal.

Le Canard Enchainé, Parisian satirical weekly, pokes fun at American sexual fear of the Negro and describes Mrs. Bryant as a young woman who has achieved brief notoriety at the price of the life of a poor little black boy. *L'Aurore* calls her a "crossroads Marlyn Monroe."

France Soir, Parisian afternoon daily with the largest circulation, praises Moses Wright for his boldness in accusing the defendants Bryant and Milam in open court of being the killers of his nephew. The paper also castigates the picnic-like atmosphere of the trial.

Franc-Tireur, anti-Communist liberal Parisian daily, said:

It is disquieting to see that in spite of the American laws condemning anti-Negro racism, the vilest passions can triumph unpunished under the cover of state law. Thus there is still in certain corners of a great democracy a racist dogma of state as anti-Semitism was a state dogma under Hitler and the confessions trials under Stalin. We, who have always rejected with the same horror enslavement and assassination of men, no matter under what pretext, only because of their thoughts, their opinions, their origin or their color, how can we not be shocked by this new evidence of the rage of the whites? Racism like Hitlerism is still spreading its poison throughout the world.

L'Humanité, official organ of the French Communist party, has this comment:

He was a child—a black child. His name was Emmett Louis Till and he was only fourteen-years old. He went into a grocery store one day to buy some chewing gum and he found the storekeeper a young and pretty woman. The boy nudged his playmates with his elbow and then gave a discreet whistle of admiration. Three days later two men came to his home and took him away at gun-point. When his body was found, it was mutilated, his neck pierced with bullets, and his body was floating in the Mississippi.

This disturbing story, as you have probably guessed, is an American story. For daring to look at a white woman, this black child was kidnapped, tortured, beaten, and shot in the head.

In closing we quote a few comments from prominent Frenchmen on the Till verdict as listed in *Combat.* The writer Francis Carco called it "abominable. Nothing like it could happen in Europe. . . . George Duhamel: "I have traveled in Texas, Louisiana, and Alabama . . . "the murder of a man is inexcusable, unpardonable, should be punished . . . when crime takes on racial character it is especially odious" . . . Jean Paulhan: "a horrible event" . . . Roland Dorgelès: "These two murderers and the ignorant shrew who is the cause of the tragedy are not superstitious. They should fear that that their white children will not live to old age."

THIS *smiling young lady is one of the participants in the annual birthday tea of the Ogden, Utah, branch of the NAACP.*

Book Reviews

FIRST NEGRO "FRAT"

***History of Sigma Pi Phi*: First of the Negro-American Greek-Letter Fraternities. By Charles H. Wesley. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1954. XIV+393pp.**

Four physicians and a dentist, led by the late Dr. Henry M. Minton, met by arrangement in Philadelphia on May 15, 1904, to found the Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, the history of which Dr. Charles H. Wesley, one of its members and the incumbent president of Central State College, sums up here in a 50th anniversary edition. Sigma Pi Phi was "the first practical achievement of the fraternal idea among Negro college men," and was "planned for . . . men who were graduates of colleges and . . . engaged in professional activities in their communities." Its founders took to heart Dubois' grand idea of "the Talented Tenth" and saw "clearly that a full life for themselves could not be assured without a sharing of their fellowship . . . with others of like minds and hearts."

This like-mindedness and like-heartedness had by 1929 mushroomed into twenty boulés and by 1954 into thirty-three, distributed, as it were, throughout the nation. Today its membership represents what is quite appropriately termed "a goodly number of Negro-Americans." To be sure, there can be no doubt that Sigma Pi Phi counts among its members doctors, dentists, educators and lawyers who are among the pillars of American society. But one gathers that with or without the affiliation they would matter for as much. Among them are several men who have constantly prodded the membership as did Grand Sire Archon W. C. McCard as early as September 1913: " 'If we are the flower of our race in this country, as we sometimes try to flatter ourselves into believing, we must do more than pat each other on the back and eat good food. We owe more to ourselves and the colored people of this country.' "

The history of Sigma Pi Phi is a gallery of outstanding men whose contribution as a fraternal group has been largely bottled in social functions. Dr. Wesley punctuates the subtle eloquence of his namedropping performance with some telling statements: "The social functions of this Grand Boulé contributed to the success of the convocation. Receptions, whist parties, dinners, luncheons and banquets and a round of festivities made these occasions the events of a lifetime. . . ." This was in 1914. Thirty two years later the Eighteenth Grand Boulé of Sigma Pi Phi met at Morgan State College in Baltimore, and saddened as they were to hear that Grand Sire Archon Emeritus Henry M. Minton had passed as they were assembled, they, as usual, "returned to their homes with happy memories of a great meeting."

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—Charles Poore, *N. Y. Times*

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By WALTER WHITE

Foreword by

Ralph J. Bunche

". . . An enormously encouraging account of progress toward equal rights for Negroes. . . ."—*The New Yorker*

". . . A triumphant example of the kind of American story which. . . needs to be told to Asia and understood at home."
—Lewis Gannett, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*

". . . A careful account by a close observer of one of the most remarkable achievements in human history, the rise of the American Negro."
—Gerald W. Johnson, *N. Y. Times Book Review*

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Sigma Pi Phi has an established policy of conservative, selective expansion. This has led to considerable variety of opinion in the garment but little division. For so sacred is the tie that binds these like-minded souls that Archon Carrington L. Davis was able to define the brotherhood concept in terms of unconscious irony during the year of the stock market crash:

> "'. . . first of all every archon is a gentleman. . . . He will, therefore, at all times and in all situations conduct himself as a gentleman; he cannot do less. He will realize, or at least assume, that every other archon along with himself is a gentleman. . . . This assumption will therefore make it impossible for one archon unjustly and viciously to attack another one even were he in possession of facts sufficient to verify the attack.'"

One shares with Dr. Wesley the hope that among these gentlemen of professional fortune and degreed distinction "greater opportunity lies in the future" and particularly that "larger service may be rendered than the record herein described."

INFORMATION AND UNDERSTANDING

An Essay on Racial Tension. **By Philip Mason: London & New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1954. IX+149pp. $1.50.**

There has been no dearth in quantity of discussion about race and what it has come to mean in modern society, but the quality of much that has been written on this matter has too often faced backwards towards the Stone Age. Indeed its ubiquity as the "problem of the 20th century" has admitted mean and mediocre minds to air their narrow views in high places. One need only scan the latest article of any one of our typical, knowing Southern journalists or the latest revision of Virginia-born Dr. Henry E. Garrett's (head of the Department of Psychology, Teachers') College, Columbia University *Great Experiments in Psychology* to note how deeply imbedded is the tendency among certain types of men to state their own condition, under the guise of learning, as that of mankind. Or, if by way of contrast one looks into the winter 1954-55 issue of *The Antioch Review*, where a Southerner (to wit, one Norman A. Brittin, actually an ex-New Yorker who has sought and found his level in the Alabama atmosphere) sets forth, unconsciously, a strikingly vulgar moral position on the current controversy over desegregation, he can better appreciate the distinguished achievement of Mr. Mason's trenchant essay.

This clear contrast lends stature to Mr. Mason's cogent sommary of reliable findings about race, and his essay should be required reading for all "authorities" who make it a habit regularly to advertise their feelings about race relations in the U. S. and elsewhere—with the assenting collaboration of the majority of American editors and publishers.

For Mr. Mason, who is director of studies on race relations for the Institute of International Affairs, demonstrates in this treatise a breadth of information wedded to depth of understanding which points up to good advantage the fruit of coordinated and careful research.

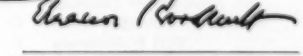
There is even an extra quality in Mr. Mason's essay one rarely meets with among the more mature writers on the problems of modern civilization. He knows full well that scientific man's approach to relative perfection in the know-how of destructiveness poses a new set of terms for those who would live henceforth in this world.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WHY AMERICANS SHOULD BECOME LIFE MEMBERS OF THE NAACP

Why should one be a life member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? It seems to me one should be a life member because to do its work this organization needs an assured income with which to make its plans. Life membership is like capital and can be invested. Those of us who believe that basic human rights should be achieved for every citizen of the US must feel they want to have life membership in one of the organizations that is constantly working for these rights. Unless we have an example here in our own country of justice and equality and respect for all human personality we can't expect to spread that kind of doctrine in the world, and I think it is basic to achieving a peaceful world to have an acceptance of human rights and freedoms for all human beings.



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JOB BIAS

THE October 1955 issue of *Labor Reports* says that the AFL Hotel Trades Council of New York and the State Commission Against Discrimination are jointly mapping a fair employment campaign to erase barriers in employment, promotion, upgrading and transfers of hotel workers in New York City hostelries.

SCAD representatives and union officials have prepared special questionnaires. These will be distributed to the "shop delegates" in the hotels, and their answers regarding discriminatory practices against workers in the industry will form the basis for the survey. While the delegates will be the primary source of information, the probers will not necessarily confine their questioning to them. Spot checks will be made and workers, chosen at random, will also be queried.

Many unionists have insisted that discriminatory practices are rampant in New York City's leading hotels. The survey will provide the first actual information in this connection. Although there have been promises of cooperation by hotel operators, leaders of local unions affiliated with the Hotel Trade Council have indicated that they will not be party to any "whitewash" attempt. "If this survey confirms the existence of bias in employment, let the chips fall where they may," say the labor men.

While neither the union nor SCAD has spoken specifically of steps to be taken after the preliminary survey is completed and the findings assayed, it is safe to speculate that the caliber of the leadership of the locals affiliated with the Council will prevent the report from growing musty with age in a pigeonhole of someone's desk.

* * *

California teachers scored a victory against job bias in September when Governor Frank Knight affixed his signature to a bill which makes it illegal for school boards in the state to discriminate in the hiring of teachers because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The new ruling, which was sponsored by the California unit of the American Federation of Teachers, received strong support from the State AFL and CIO.

POTTSTOWN PLAN

THE little community of Pottstown, in Pennsylvania Dutch country, has a plan for improving human relations in the community. Now one year old, The Pottstown Committee on Human Relations has

had inquires from 38 states as to the plan's merits and accomplishments.

The Pottstown Mercury (October 28, 1955) describes the "Pottstown Plan Show":

U. S. Judge William H. Hastie told an audience of more than 500 that they 'must face the religious and racial barriers that separate people.'

"I'm not going to minimize the barriers that do exist between us. But society was divided for us before we came along. We didn't build the barriers, But we must face them."

Hastie, a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge in Philadelphia, addressed the unexpectedly large audience at the Pottstown Junior High school auditorium in a program that started at 8 p. m.

The 'town meeting' was sponsored by the Pottstown Committee on Human Relations, which launched the nationally-known 'Pottstown Plan' a year ago.

For all of Hastie's eloquence and charm, the spotlight was stolen by the premiere production of an original musical-play based on the formation of the Pottstown Committee and the Pottstown Plan.

* * *

The audience burst into applause time and again as 20 talented actors and singers from Philadelphia High schools went through the strenuous pace of the hour-long show.

* * *

The tall, slender Judge — former governor of the Virgin Islands — told five different stories which illustrated how people, who hate or dislike one another at first because they don't know one another, grow into a lasting friendship when they grow in knowledge of one another.

One story told of a young American lawyer who started a law practice in American-hating Puerto Rico. In 15 years, the lawyer was appointed to the Supreme Court of that island.

Another told of how the first Negro Air Corp pilot became a respected, trusted, and integral part of an all-white squadron — a combination that military leaders argued for decades would be impossible.

In a charming anecdote, he pointed out the ridiculous extremes to which segregation can be carried. During World War II, when everyone was Civil Defense conscious, one town decided to have a blackout.

Every preparation was made, except one: Nobody told the Negroes who were segregated on 'the other side of the tracks' about the test.

At zero hour, the white section sirens went off, all lights were doused, wardens patrolled the streets. But in the Negro section, all sorts of lights were glaring out. Hastie said it should have been termed not a 'blackout but a white-out.'

On a more serious note, he said, 'When we're young, we sometimes grow out of our shoes too fast. When that happens we get corns, sometimes the foot is slightly deformed.

'Maybe the same thing is happening to our personalities. By choosing for company only people who look, think, act, and feel as we do, maybe we're putting tight shoes on our personalities. Maybe we're getting deformed.'

* * *

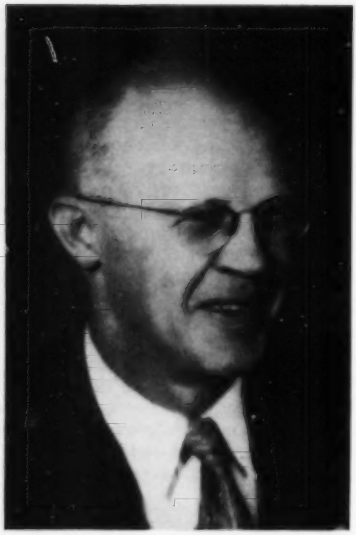
Corn of the character, so to speak.

'We have to make an affirmative move to broaden our knowledge. I think that with the leadership of this committee, Pottstown is doing splendidly.

'There are many plans named after many towns. But I'm convinced that there is no Plan a town should be more proud of than Pottstown should be of its plan.'

INTERRACIAL AWARD

A NEGRO surgeon and a white editor from the South, winners



MILLARD F. EVERETT

of an award for interracial justice, expressed regret that such an award should be needed in the United States.

Accepting the James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice at a reception in the Carroll Club in New York City, Dr. James Hose of Memphis, Tenn., founder of St. Roch's Clinic in that city, said he felt self conscious at being "set aside as a hero for doing what comes naturally to a solid Christian."

His co-recipient of the award, Millard F. Everett, of New Orleans, La., editor of *Catholic Action of the South*, said: "My only regret is that such recognition comes for a fight that should not be necessary in a Christian democratic nation."

The award was presented on behalf of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York by the Most Rev. James H. Griffiths, S.T.D., auxiliary Bishop of New York, representing His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman. It is given annually by the Council to a white and a Negro Catholic lay person for outstanding accomplishment in the field of interracial justice. Established by the family of the late James J. Hoey, a founder and first president of the Catholic Interracial Council, it has been given since 1942 on the Feast of Christ the King.

AFRICAN JOURNALISTS VISIT INDIA

BY arrangement between the Gold Coast and Indian governments

DR. JAMES W. HOSE

a party of three Gold Coast journalists left on a visit to India during the first week in November. They were guests of the Indian government during the duration of their stay. At a later date a similar group of Indian newspaper men will visit the Gold Coast as guests of the Gold Coast government.

The Gold Coast journalists, representing various sections of the press, were Carl D. Reindorf, editor *of Daily Echo* (Gold Coast African Press Association); Bankole Timothy, assistant editor *Daily Graphic;* and E. K. Heymann, editor *Ghana Evening News.* Purpose of the visit was to further understanding between India and the Gold Coast and to strengthen the ties which already exist between the two countries.

* * *

The Gold Coast government has invited musicians to send in original compositions for consideration as a Gold Coast national anthem. Both the English and a vernacular version of the words must be given. A prize of £100 ($280) will be awarded the winner.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

GWILYM A. PRICE, president and chairman of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, speaking at the National Equal Economic Opportunity Conference of the President's Committee on Government Contracts held in Washington on October 25 tells how his company integrated the Negro into the Westinghouse working force:

"At the present time Westinghouse employes Negroes in every manufacturing occupation. For example, Negroes are employed as electricians, carpenters, millwrights, pipefitters, painters, machine repairmen, sheet-metal workers, powerhouse engineers, machine tool operators, electrical testers, inspectors, welders, layout men and molders.

In the technical field they are employed as laboratory assistants and technicians, draftsmen and quality control personnel. We have Negro engineers and scientists, and also Negro supervisors. The latter supervise all-white departments, all-Negro departments, and mixed departments.

This was not always so in Westinghouse. Our company's progress parallels that of our large East Pittsburgh plant. The first Negroes were employed at East Pittsburgh during World War I as custodial employees and as laborers in heavy foundry operations. This situation prevailed until the beginning of World War II when sociological and man-power pressures dictated further utilization of Negroes in our work force. Negro women were employed for the first time. Although no segregated facilities were provided, they were initially all placed on the midnight shift. . . .

We learned that the degree of acceptance of the Negro is dependent to a great extent upon what the other employees of the work force are used to. We found out that people fear and resist change, but experience overcomes the fear of the unknown. . . .

We believe in integration. We believe in integration not only because there are sound, valid and compelling sociological reasons for it, but also because our experience shows there are sound, valid, compelling and hard-headed business and economic reasons for it. This nation is currently faced with a shortage of skilled and technical personnel. This shortage is going to get worse as increased mechanization raises the demand for skilled workers. West-

inghouse is part of an industry which expects to double its size in the next ten years. We simply can't afford to ignore the man power potential in the Negro community.

We do not feel that our progress in this field has been spectacular, nor do we look upon ourselves as crusaders or pioneers—on the contrary, we realize we still have a long way to go. However, we also feel that by applying the lessons we have learned to date our road will be made shorter and smoother.

These lessons can be summarized into three points:

1. The problems of integration are never as great as we expect them to be;

2. The problems that do arise are usually overcome when management makes its position clear; and

3. The smoothest progress is made when Negroes are introduced into the work force in line with already established personnel procedures.

"POWER OF WORDS"

IN a handbook for teachers published by UNESCO, Dr. Cyril Bibby of the University of London Institute of Education points out that words are often sufficient to breed misunderstanding and hostility:

"No one who has even seen a white man's lip curl as he spits out the word 'nigger" or who has felt the deep contempt in a Negro's voice as he refers to 'white trash,' can have doubt about the emotional content of such terms. True, when the English child learns the nursery rhyme about the 'Ten Little Nigger Boys' who sat down to dine, the word 'nigger' is used in a warm, friendly way; but words have an emotive power for the recipient as well as for the dispenser, and many Negroes rise in resentment at what they imagine to be racial prejudice. Similarly, although the word 'Negress' may be used in its simple descriptive sense, without any offensive intent, it may nevertheless carry objectionable connotations of the days when plantation owners took female slaves as concubines.

"To take another example, the words 'Jew' and 'Jewess' are in essence simply classificatory terms, no more objectionable than 'author' and 'authoress'; yet, so sensitive to possibilities of antisemitic prejudice have some individuals become, they will circumlocute about 'a man (or a woman) of the Hebrew faith' to avoid the risk of giving offence. Just as, in poetry, certain words have not only a surface insignificance, but also a rich emotional content which gives them layer upon layer of meaning, so many words relating to race have complex associations which introduce thick incrustations of prejudice. And, if the child is to learn to use his native language really well, he must become aware of this complex of words.

"Take the adjectives 'black,' 'brown,' 'yellow,' and 'white.' Applied to paints or fabrics, they are simple descriptive words implying nothing beyond the facts of color difference. But use them in the phrases 'black race,' 'brown race,' 'yellow race,' and 'white race'—and how subtly the adjectives imply grades of merit and demerit! Usually unrecognized on the conscious level, but often a potent catalyst of emotion, 'white' now becomes set apart from the other three color adjectives, and carries with it an idea of basic cleanness which 'black' and 'brown' and 'yellow' do not share. Then there

is white as the symbol of purity and virginity, and there is white as 'not-colored' while black and brown and yellow are 'colored.' This last implication, indeed, commonly becomes quite explicit, as when 'colored' is used as a synonym or euphemism for 'Negro.' This complex emotional content of the word 'white' would become apparent to children of European origin if, for a period, they and their teacher deliberately used the rather more appropriate adjective 'pink' in classroom discussion of ethnic differences. The sense of superiority which comes to many people when they think of themselves as white rather than brown disappears when they think of themselves as pink, and the thrill of horror which is aroused in some by the idea of intermarriage between black and white does not arise in the same way at the thought of mingling of black and pink. . . .

"[Take the emotive power] of the very word 'race' itself. Passing into general usage in its present sense after Buffon gave it the seal of his approval in 1749, the word had earlier been used in the sense of 'the human race,' and in the sense of the posterity of a person, as in the phrase 'the race of Abraham.' And, subtly still today, the word carries with it something of this complex connotation, so that on the one hand the members of another 'race' are not quite human and on the other hand they are not quite of one's own kith-and-kin. And, as a result, many a man who is well aware of the scientific facts about race is nevertheless unable to cast off completely his irrational feelings about it. He is, indeed, in much the same position as was Madame de Stael, who is reported to have said: 'I do not believe in ghosts, But I am afraid of them.' We must help children to pass beyond the stage of abandoning fallacious beliefs, and to progress into the stage of getting rid also of irrational fears."

SOUTH AFRICA

NDABANINGI SITHOLE, Ndebele educator and leader from Mt. Silinda, Southern Rhodesia, Africa, in addressing the Eastern Regional Meeting (October 23-27) of the Congregational Christian Churches, said that the church in Africa is often "a strong supporter of the doctrine of white supremacy":

With the result that it has given the unfortunate impression that the Church is an effective instrument of imperialism which, itself, is based on this doctrine. This has not helped the Spirit of Christ take root in places where it should have done. The rise of indigenous churches . . . that is, churches started and controlled entirely by Africans, has been openly opposed by established churches. This has further strengthened the wrong impression that the main business of the Church is to bring Africans under European control.

In many respects the Church has been a discredit to the Sprit of Christ, particularly when it comes to interracial situations. In the eyes of many African people, the Church has given a lie to what it preaches. It has connived with the shortcomings of powerful racial groups, but has been alive to those of the Africans. Instead of helping the African with his practical problems, it has often advised him to be quiet and has often assured him of superior blessings in heaven. . . .

Investors in Freedom

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM BRANCHES TOWARDS "FIGHTING FUND FOR FREEDOM" FOR THE MONTHS OF SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1955

ALABAMA	
Birmingham	$309.21
Brundidge	5.00
Clanton	20.07
Dolomite	21.75
Etowah County	71.20
Jasper	40.01
Mobile	264.00
Pine Grove	10.45
Randolph County	10.05
St. Clair County	24.60
Selma	16.60
Talladega	10.50
Tri-Cities	125.03
Tuskegee	220.64
ALASKA	
Anchorage	35.00
ARIZONA	
Flagstaff	89.20
Okemah-Tempe	35.00
Maricopa County	16.30
Yuma	150.00
ARKANSAS	
Jackson County	26.00
Jonesboro	25.00
CALIFORNIA	
Butte County	6.35
Herlong	20.13
Imperial	20.00
Indian Wells Valley	25.00
Indio	50.00
Los Angeles	6,391.44
Modesto	50.00
Redding	64.20
Sacramento	210.00
San Bernardino	28.75
San Pedro	72.78
Tulare	9.00
Santa Monica	250.00
Ventura	112.04
Weed	12.00
COLORADO	
Colorado Springs	310.00
Denver	100.00
CONNECTICUT	
Norwalk	100.00
DELAWAAE	
Newark	12.25
FLORIDA	
Bay County	42.52
Eatonville	52.72
Ft. Lauderdale	60.00
Delray Beach	13.00
Lake Wales	86.75
Liberty City	184.00
Ocala	10.00
Orange County	23.17
Pensacola	100.00
Perrine	26.00
Sarasota	134.27
Suwanee County	5.00
Tampa	385.00
Tarpon Springs	21.71
Walton County	25.00
GEORGIA	
Atlanta	329.84

Augusta	50.00
Cuthbert	10.00
Pulaski County	25.00
Savannah	308.74
Worth County	34.30
ILLINOIS	
State Conference	739.15
Centralia	88.00
Chicago Heights	183.05
Danville	27.62
Freeport	44.50
Tri-City	100.00
INDIANA	
Hammond	27.19
Indianapolis	1,000.00
Kokomo	236.15
IOWA	
State Conference	100.00
Burlington	7.00
Clinton	5.75
Council Bluffs	50.00
Davenport	52.00
Marshalltown	25.00
Waterloo	300.00
KANSAS	
Coffeyville	57.60
KENTUCKY	
Ashland	76.95
Benham	37.85
Louisville	390.44
Madisonville	53.05
LOUISIANA	
Abbeville	25.00
Baton Rouge	104.29
E. Side Jefferson Parish	60.00
Jonesboro	38.00
Pleasant Grove	55.50
Red River Parish	25.00
St. Charles Parish	50.00
St. Helena Parish	100.00
Thibodaux	118.26
Webster Parish	40.00
Winnfield Parish	50.00
MARYLAND	
Frederick County	43.56
Worcester County	50.00
MASSACHUSETTS	
Boston	750.00
Merrimack Valley	50.00
MICHIGAN	
Detroit	3,529.00
Jackson	20.00
Lansing	215.45
Muskegon	414.36
Port Huron	125.00
River-Rouge-Ecorse	125.00
Wayne-Romulos	86.97
MINNESOTA	
St. Paul	51.00
MISSISSIPPI	
Amory	56.23
McComb	183.80
Jackson	20.00
Vicksburg	469.00
Clark County	13.32
MISSOURI	
Jefferson County	15.00
Kansas City	262.32
Liberty County	44.10
NEBRASKA	
Omaha	1,500.00
NEW JERSEY	
State Conference	50.00
Asbury Park	61.50
Atlantic City	5.00
Bergen County	40.00
Camden	500.00
Cape May County	25.00
Jersey City	19.28
Montclair	704.15
Newark	578.62
New Brunswick	50.00
Ocean City	55.00

Orange-Maplewood	376.50
Paterson	119.45
Plainfield	500.00
Trenton	194.08

NEW MEXICO

Clovis	16.06

NEW YORK

Buffalo	1,019.02
Corona	260.00
Far Rockaway	43.25
Flushing	473.00
Glen Cove	40.00
Hempstead	173.00
Jamaica	1,000.00
New Rochelle	20.00
Ossining	28.20
Spring Valley	100.00
Sullivan County	10.00

NORTH CAROLINA

Cabarrus County	30.00
Columbus County	30.00
Currituck	55.00
Davie County	7.00
Gaston County	56.40
Hertford County	211.88
Hickory County	58.44
Lee County	10.00
N. Granville County	3.35
Robeson County	5.06
Scotland County	50.00
Wendell	156.95
Wilkes County	49.50
Winston-Salem	184.53
Yadkin County	75.00

OHIO

State Conference	150.63
Allen County	75.00
Campbell-Struthers	25.00
Cincinnati	656.32
Dayton	1,000.00
Kent	37.00
Newark	32.00
Sandusky	147.85
Tuscawaras County	40.00

OKLAHOMA

Bartlesville	10.00
Boynton	4.95
Canadian County	30.00
Enid	50.00
Kiowa County	37.55
Logan County	55.86
Ponca City	20.00
Tulsa	261.76

PENNSYLVANIA

Ambler	50.00
Dauphin County	100.00
La Mott	68.25
Monongahela Valley	25.00
New Castle	125.00
Philadelphia	1,000.00
Willow Grove	50.00

RHODE ISLAND

Newport	112.00

SOUTH CAROLINA

Barnwell County	3.40
Greenville	124.50
Hilton Head	12.20
Long Ridge	25.00
Johnsville	50.00
Mt. Holly	10.00

SOUTH DAKOTA

Sioux Falls	25.00

TENNESSEE

Blount County	107.17
Knoxville	512.13
Columbia	29.00
Murfreesboro	25.00
Chattanooga	133.84

TEXAS

State Conference	$1,500.00
Edinburg	19.25
Ft. Worth	75.00
Houston	350.00
San Marcos	26.75

UTAH

Ogden	77.00

VIRGINIA	
Southeastern (Norfolk Co.)	75.00
South Norfolk Co.	37.97
WEST VIRGINIA	
Bluefield	77.57
Charleston	118.10
Huntington	375.25
Logan County	63.15
Parkersburg	40.00
WISCONSIN	
Madison	226.02
Milwaukee	803.70
Racine	100.00

AN APOLOGY

To our dismay some of our friends interpreted "Fateful Day of Judgment" (*The Crisis,* October, 1955) as NAACP opinion. This is not true. It is only the opinion of one white man, Henry Miller, and the NAACP does not endorse Mr. Miller's personal utterance.

The self-judgment voiced by Mr. Miller seemed at the time of its selection as a "filler" to fit in with the editorial, "Mississippi Barbarism," dealing with the Emmett Till murder.

We are distressed that any of our readers and friends of the NAACP interpreted this unhappy selection as the official opinion of the Association. We who campaign against sweeping racial estimations hope never to be guilty of the practice.

The Editor

"Every unpunished murder takes away something from the security of every man's life."

Daniel Webster (1782-1852)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

ATTORNEY GENERAL COOK

NAACP's Reply: The following statement was issued on October 19 by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, in reply to an address by Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia, before the 55th annual convention of the Peace Officers Association of Georgia held in Atlanta on October 19:

Attorney General Eugene Cook's speech is apparently part of a conspiracy by some southern state officials to combat the United States Supreme Court's order to desegregate the public schools by charging the NAACP with being subversive.

On August 22 the Associated Press reported from Asheville, N.C., an address by the then Assistant Attorney General Beverly Lake labeling the NAACP as a "foreign" organization.

The Associated Press has also reported a speech from Elloree, S.C., by Lt. Gov. Ernest Hodges in which he is quoted as saying, "And if the U.S. Supreme Court can declare certain organizations as subversive, I believe South Carolina can declare the NAACP subversive and illegal."

Over in Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland has been making speeches with the same general import but without using the specific word subversive."

Mr. Cook knows that the NAACP is not a communist organization or a communist-front organization. He knows also that neither the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee, nor any other official federal body has ever branded the NAACP as a communist or communist-front organization. He cannot show anywhere to anyone a listing of the NAACP as subversive by any responsible body.

On the contrary, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has written the NAACP: "Equality, freedom, and tolerance are essential in a democratic government. The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetrate the desires of our founding fathers."

The NAACP has been on a working relationship with every President of the United States since its formation, beginning with William Howard Taft. It has been recognized by and has worked with every Attorney General of the United States since 1910, in both Democratic and Republican administrations. The Attorney General under President Truman filed a brief in the Supreme Court supporting our position on desegregation of public schools and the Attorney General under President Eisenhower did likewise.

Not one of these responsible government officials has found anything subversive or un-American in our program or activities. On March 10, 1954, our Freedom Fulfillment Conference in Washington was greeted in person by President Eisenhower who expressed his "good wishes" for the prosecution of our work.

Mr. Cook's speech is full of distortions, word-juggling, free translations, and untruths. He calls W. E. B. DuBois a lawyer. He is not and never was an attorney. He refers to Dr. Du Bois as "Honorary Chairman." He is not nor has he ever been chairman or "honorary chairman" of the NAACP.

He says DuBois was Director of Research for the NAACP until 1949. Dr. DuBois resigned in 1934 because he opposed the Board of Directors' policy of an all-out fight against segregation. DuBois went to teach at Atlanta University and resigned that post in 1944, returning to the NAACP office where, because of his interest in independent studies, he was given the title of director of special research and provided with office space. This arrangement was terminated in 1948.

This string of inaccuracies suggests the whole speech is a concoction and recalls that Attorney General Cook advised last summer with the Georgia State Board of Education and got it to issue an edict on the firing of Negro teachers who held membership in the NAACP. He and the Board later rescinded the edict.

If Mr. Cook was right in the first place, why did he and the Board back down? If the Peace Officers Association of Georgia accepts Mr. Cook's advice today, how soon will it, too, have to back down? How dependable is the advice of the Attorney General of Georgia?

The real subversives are those who defy the Constitution of our country and openly declare they will not obey it, or who scheme to evade it and counsel others to do likewise. Mr. Cook has said that the Supreme Court ruling on segregation in the public schools should not be obeyed. He has advised on ways and means of circumventing it.

It is he, not we, who are seeking to undermine the government of the United States. There is nothing subversive in demanding equality under the Constitution. The Constiution prescribes equality for citizens. Those who deny that equality are subverting the Constitution.

Mr. Cook labors mightily to tie the Communist party program to the NAACP. We began our labors in 1909, long before the Communist party appeared on the American scene. The Russian revolution did not occur until 1917. In the NAACP third annual report in 1913 is the statement: "We intend to push vigorously the fight against segregation in all its forms." We stand today on that same general platform and work for the same objectives.

There is not now, nor has there ever been a monopoly on man's struggle for justice, equality and freedom. It has been a part of every civilization the world has known. Men of every tongue, color, political belief and religion have fought injustice.

The United States of America was founded upon the Judeo-Christian concept of morality. Everyone who chooses to do so is free to advocate this concept, and to work through the channels which our forefathers provided to bring it to life in our daily living.

The NAACP has worked at all times within the framework and with the tools of democratic government. The great religious faiths have been with us in our general crusade. On this very question of desegregation, all three faiths and all major denominations have officially called for compliance with the Supreme Court ruling on public schools.

It is a fact that the official Communist statement from Moscow on the public school opinion of the Court is that it will not be implemented. In this belief the Communists are joined by Attorney General Cook who also says it will not be implemented if he can prevent it.

EDUCATION

University of Alabama Loses: The University of Alabama lost its three year fight to keep two Negro students out of the state-supported institution when the U. S. Supreme Court in October reinstated an injunction issued by a federal district court ordering the university to admit the Negro students.

The high tribunal reinstated an injunction issued on July 1, 1955 by Federal Judge Hobart Grooms which restrained the dean of admissions, William F. Adams, from denying the two students admission "solely on account of race and color." The decision was the first rendered in a school segregation case by the high Court this term, which convened October 3. This case was also the first to be decided by a federal district court following the U. S. Supreme Court's May 31 implementation decree.

The suit was brought against the university by two young Negro women, Autherine J. Lucy and Polly Ann Myers, who sought courses in library science and journalism. Both had originally been accepted by the university, received letters of welcome from the president and assigned to dormitory rooms. When they appeared in person, however, they were informed by the dean of admissions that an error had been made and that the Alabama state law would not permit them to enroll.

The young women were encouraged by the dean to seek admission to either the Alabama State College for Negroes at Montgomery, or at Tuskegee Institute. All such offers and suggestions were refused. An appeal to the president of the university and later to the board of trustees brought a statement from the university that no action on their applications would be taken until the Supreme Court ruled on the then pending five school segregation cases.

The Negro students then took their case to the U. S. District Court in Birmingham in September 1952. Their attorneys asked the court to issue an order "permanently enjoining the university" from denying the plaintiffs, and others similarly situated, the right to enroll in the University

of Alabama which was granted on July 1, 1955. Attorneys for the university had argued that the students were denied admission because they did not meet the requirements of the college.

Following Judge Groom's injunction order, a motion was filed by the university and granted by Judge Grooms to "suspend the injunction" pending its appeal to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Attorneys for the students then filed a motion asking the Fifth Circuit to "vacate" the suspension order and reinstate the injunction. This motion was denied by the Fifth Circuit. An application was then made to the U. S. Supreme Court in September 1954.

The October 10 order of the Supreme Court, however, affects only the two students involved.

NAACP Legal Defense attorneys for the two Negro students were Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham and Constance Baker Motley of New York City.

MISSISSIPPI TERROR

NAACP Plans Program: In response to numerous inquiries from all sections of the country about the role of the NAACP in the Emmett Till case, Roy Wilkins has announced a seven-point program of action to meet the Mississippi situation. Thurgood Marshall has issued a statement explaining the limitations imposed upon the NAACP in the area of legal action in this case.

"First," Mr. Marshall said, "the prosecution in the Till case, as in other criminal cases, is in the hands of the local law enforcement officers. A private agency, such as the NAACP, has no role in the prosecution of such a case beyond assisting in obtaining witnesses. The NAACP, along with Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., and certain newspaper correspondents did uncover some witnesses in the case.

"Secondly, there can be no appeal nor any new trial of Bryant and Milam, who have been acquitted of the murder of Emmett Till. This is a basic fact in American law which prohibits 'double jeopardy'.

"Thirdly, the NAACP will not be able to participate in the prosecution of the accused in the kidnap trial when and if it is held.

"And finally, under existing law, the United States Department of Justice says it cannot enter the Till case either on the murder or the kidnap charge. The Lindbergh kidnap law applies only to cases in which the victim is transported across a state line."

While the Association's hands are tied so far as legal action is concerned, "there are many things that can be done and must be done in order to prevent a repetition of the Till atrocity," Mr. Wilkins, points out.

There is a continuing need for funds to help clean up the Mississippi situation, he asserts. According to the NAACP leader, present plans call for a program of action to fight revival of lynch terror; secure enactment of civil rights bills pending in Congress; obtain more adequate law enforce-

ment with equal protection for all citizens; remove racial restrictions on the franchise; accelerate compliance with the Supreme Court edict banning racial segregation in public schools; end economic reprisals against Negro citizens demanding their constituional rights; and eliminate racial discrimination from all phases of American life.

This is a long-range program, Mr. Wilkins points out, calling for continuing action on the Washington level as well as in the states and communities.

"Money is needed for lobbying, for research, for literature, for political and educational action. We can't bring little Emmett Till back to life and we can't convict Bryant and Milam. We can work toward the day when we will not again be confronted with such an atrocity."

"The NAACP is the organization most feared by the southern bigots," Mr. Wilkins asserts, "as witness the attacks by Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia, the Assistant Attorney General of North Carolina, the Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina and others. They are out to destroy the NAACP, to have it declared illegal and subversive. This imposes upon all of us who believe in democracy, the responsibility of strengthening the organization which has consistently challenged the South's obsolete white supremacy practices."

DONATIONS

UAW-CIO Donates $5000: The United Auto Workers (CIO) has contributed $5,000 to the Association. Another large sum, $6,000, was received by the Association from funds collected at an NAACP rally held in Los Angeles, California. The money was sent in by the Los Angeles branch.

A letter signed by Walter P. Reuther, president of the UAW-CIO and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, accompanied the union's check.

Pointing to the Emmett Till lynching and "other violations of civil rights and civil liberties which have occurred in Mississippi in recent months," Mr. Reuther's letter declared: "In the months ahead, in view of the present developments, our country will be faced with perhaps the most critical period in its history in the field of civil rights and civil liberties."

Mr. Reuther said the UAW-CIO is donating the $5,000 "with the conviction that it will, in a measure, assist the NAACP in its courageous and untiring efforts toward the achievement of an America in which the civil rights and civil liberties of every individual will be secure."

BRADLEY TOUR

NAACP Sponsored Tour Cancelled: Following failure of Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of Emmett Till, to undertake a tour of West Coast cities in accordance with terms agreed upon with the NAACP, Roy Wilkins an-

nounced termination of NAACP sponsorship of any future meetings for her and substitution of Moses Wright for the far west tour.

Mrs. Bradley was scheduled to leave Chicago on November 7 for a series of 11 NAACP sponsored meetings in Washington, Oregon, and California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and Colorado. However, on that day, she informed the NAACP, through Mrs. Anna Crockett, her personal representative, that she would not make the tour unless given a flat fee of $5,000 plus all expenses or a lesser guarantee plus expenses and one-third of all funds collected at the meetings.

Early in October, Mrs. Bradley came to the national office of the NAACP and asked for Association sponsorship of her appearances. Terms were agreed upon and Mrs. Bradley spoke under auspices of NAACP branches in a number of eastern and midwestern cities.

Mr. Wright, grand-uncle of the slain Chicago boy, was secured to replace Mrs. Bradley on the western tour. As previously scheduled, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP southeast regional secretary, is also addressing the series of meetings. Mr. Wright was flown to Seattle for the opening meeting on November 9, after having testified the previous day before the LeFlore county grand jury in the kidnap charges against Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam who had admitted taking the boy from his uncle's home on the night of August 28. The all-white grand jury refused to return an indictment.

In announcing the termination of the arrangements with Mrs. Bradley, Mr. Wilkins said that "NAACP does not handle such matters on a commercial basis."

SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE

James M. Hinton, president of the South Carolina Conference, calls our attention to omission of credit to the South Carolina Conference (*The Crisis*, October, 1955, p. 500 f.) for work in the Sarah Fleming bus case. Mr. Hinton writes: "South Carolina Conference appealed the case after we consulted with the national office legal staff; it cost the State Conference more than $2,000 through the 4th Circuit Court of Appeal; and the South Carolina Electric and Gas Company has appealed the case to the U. S. Supreme Court and it is costing the South Carolina Conference another $1,000 for Attorney Philip Wittenburg, our local attorney; and, of course, we will pay all the expenses of the legal staff in the national office."

What the Branches Are Doing

California: More than 5,000 people pushed their way into the second Baptist church in Los Angeles on October 9, filled every seat and every inch of standing room in the antechambers, jammed the aisles, and spilled over onto the steps and into the streets in one of the most impressive mass demonstrations ever witnessed in Los Angeles. Police estimated that 3,000 more were turned away from this meeting called by the LOS ANGELES branch to protest the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till and to hear Dr. Theodore Howard of Mississippi tell of the Till lynching and oppressive conditions in Mississippi. At the end of Dr. Howard's talk a total of $5,620 was collected, and on October 11 another $1,100 was turned in to the NAACP from churches.

Moses Wright, grand-uncle of Emmett Till, on November 9, began his appearances with southeast regional secretary Mrs. Ruby Hurley, at a series of protest rallies from Seattle to San Diego. The purpose of these meetings is to bring the public a first hand account of the "reign of terror" in Mississippi and to register the protests of all fair-minded persons on the West Coast because of the "refusal and failure" of Mississippi to render justice to Negroes. In October Franklin Williams, West Coast secretary-counsel, toured Alaskan cities speaking at meetings and

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE *of the Albuquerque, New Mexico, branch of the NAACP for the year* 1955.

Bell Studios

MEMBERS *of the campaign committee of the Camden, N. J., branch (sitting, from left): Mesdames Jane Stewart, Betty Cox, Alice Wiggins, Roberta Frazier, Dr. R. L. Moore, Dr. V. S. Wiggins, Mesdames Juanita Dicks, Mary Burrell, Marjorie Corsey, Anna Harmon; (standing, from left) Mesdames Gertrude Williams and Catherine Johnson, Robert Hammond, and Mesdames Penrose Jones and Bessie Shivers. Total branch membership is* 2,100, 10 *percent of Camden's Negro population. Highest captains in the campaign were Navy, Mrs. Alice Wiggins,* 507; *and Army, Mrs. Hazel Winston,* 310. *Highest individual producers were Dr. Wiggins,* 270; *Mrs. Gertrude Williams,* 150; *Mrs. Mary Burrell,* 113; *Mrs. Roberta Frazier,* 110; *and Mrs. Bessie Shivers,* 79.

holding conferences with important people.

Illinois: The 1955 annual fight for freedom membership campaign of the CHICAGO branch is now in full swing with twenty-two divisions working to reach the goal of 10,000 new members in Chicago.

About 4,000 people participated in the four-hour picket demonstration around City Hall on October 25 organized by the local branch to demand action on Trumbull Park.

The pickets demanded effective action from the city officials to end recurrent acts of terrorism, assault and intimidation against the Negro tenants of the Trumbull Park CHA homes. They pointed out that Negro tenants

at Trumbull still cannot walk the streets in the area for fear of life and limb; that Negro tenants still have to be transported to and from the project in police squad cars; that Negroes driving in the area still have their cars stoned; and that aerial bombs are still being exploded in the area.

Governor William G. Stratton of Illinois has been asked by Gerald D. Bullock, president of the ILLINOIS CONFERENCES OF BRANCHES, to save Artes Jones from Mississippi "justice." Jones is being held in the St. Clair county jail in East St. Louis awaiting extradition to Mississippi on a fugitive warrant charging him with "obtaining money under false pretenses."

Judge William G. Juergens of the circuit court of St. Clair county has denied a writ of habaes corpus presented by Artes Jones and his attorney, Billy Jones.

The petition for a writ of habaes corpus charged that the imprisonment of Artes Jones in the county jail at East St. Louis was "illegal" on the grounds that he has not committed any crime and that no competent court of law has issued either a criminal or civil judgment against Jones for any treason, felony or other crime for which he ought, by the Constitution and Laws of the United States, be returned to the executive power of Mississippi.

The NAACP claims that if Artes Jones is returned to Mississippi he will be imprisoned for debt, in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees that a person shall not be imprisoned for debt. The NAACP further claims that the warrant issued by a justice of peace in Mississippi "is without cause or effect and without jurisdiction to apprehend" Jones and that a justice of peace in Mississippi "does not have extra territorial effect" to apprehend and imprison a person now resident in Illinois.

Massachusetts: On November 5, Kivie Kaplan, national co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee, Mrs. Katherine Watson Coleman, regional assistant, and John T. Lane, local life membership chairman of the Boston branch, appeared on the branch's regular radio program: "Report to the Greater Boston Community," a program produced by Lemuel Wells. This program is a regular feature of the BOSTON branch, headed by president Col. Larkland F. Hewitt, and is heard over radio station WBMS, 1090 on the dial, at 12:45 P.M.

Michigan: Three members of the MUSKEGON branch received merit awards for outstanding work in the branch's recent membership drive. Johnnie Woods and N. A. Hodges were presented national certificates of merit by Robert A. Cavanaugh, Muskegon county prosecuting attorney. Mrs. Jewell Webb was presented a local award.

Speakers at the meeting, co-chaired by Mrs. Gladys Givan and Mrs. Katherine Drake, were Attorney Edward Turner, president of the Michigan state conference of NAACP branches.

Minnesota: Attorney L. Howard Bennett, chairman of the legal redress committee of the Minnesota state conference, was the main speaker at the October meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch.

The annual state conference meeting was held on October 29 and the main speaker was Clarence Mitchell of the Washington bureau of the NAACP.

New Jersey: The JERSEY CITY branch presented a "Fashion Extravaganza," featuring a baby contest, and 19th century fashions modeled by small fry. The event was held on October 15 in the Fairmount Avenue YWCA. Committee in charge of the fashion show consisted of Mrs. Cordelia Greene Johnson, Mrs. C. Williams, Mrs. Ceola Werner, and Mrs. G. Stinson.

SOME OF THE PRINCIPALS *at the meeting of the Missouri State Conference of NAACP Branches. They are (from left) A. P. Marshall, past president; Gloster Current, director of NAACP branches and principal speaker; Mrs. Pauline Parham, widow of late Harvey Parham, past president of the conference; and Pauline Foster, president of the Saline county branch.*

On October 16 the branch opened its annual membership drive with a memorial tribute to Emmett Till. J. Mercer Burrell was the principal speaker.

New York: The film "Toward Tomorrow," which depicts the life of Dr. Ralph Bunche, was shown at the regular membership meeting of the BROOKLYN branch on October 27.

The NEW YORK CITY branch held a Till protest meeting in the Lawson Auditorium on October 2, with speakers Roy Wilkins and Mrs. Ruby Hurley.

On October 18 the STATEN ISLAND branch passed unanimously a resolution urging President Eisenhower and Congress to secure more adequate laws to provide greater protection for racial minorities, and to ban segregation in public schools, reaffirming the Constitution.

The meeting was held in the Elm Park headquarters of Cichon Post, American Legion, and six candidates for borough political offices were also heard.

On October 19, 1955, Dr. Channing T. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board, addressed a letter to His Holi-

ness, Pope Pius XII, praising the Pontiff for "the magnificent stand which the Vatican has taken with respect to racial discrimination." Among other things, Dr. Tobias said:

"To those of us who have long been engaged in this struggle, the support of the Vatican is most heartening, for when the head of the Roman Catholic Church speaks out the Christian community the world over cannot remain indifferent."

Pennsylvania: The annual meeting of the Pennsylvania STATE CONFERENCE was held October 28-30, with headquarters in the Fort Stanwix Hotel of Johnstown.

Democratic congressmen from New York and Pennsylvania who hold hands with Democrats in Mississippi are encouraging the murder of Negroes who try to vote in the South NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins charged in his speech closing the 21st annual convention of the conference.

Mr. Wilkins said citizens of both political parties should demand that their party leaders and congressmen act to end the filibuster and to pass a federal anti-lynching law.

In Pennsylvania, he said, citizens should work to rid the state of all remnants of jim crow and should give more money to the NAACP's fighting fund for freedom to make up for the loss of funds from Negroes in the South who are suffering economic reprisals because they seek the right to vote.

Earlier in the three-day convention, delegates from 27 branches in the state endorsed a proposal asking Congress to declare vacant the seats of all representatives from Mississippi and to fill the vacancies by means of an election conducted under federal supervision.

Officers, all re-elected, are Attorney Henry R. Smith Jr., Pittsburgh, president; Dr. James A. Gillespie, New Castle, first vice-president; Johsua O. Thompson, Ambler, second vice-president; Saul Griffin, Johnstown, third vice-president; Mrs. Agnes H. Walker, Hollidaysburg, recording secretary; Effie M. Brown, Pittsburgh, corresponding secretary; John B. Cmapbell, New Castle, financial secretary, and John G. Jones, Pittsburgh, treasurer.

Directors elected are Frank D. Davis, Johnstown; George Morris, Philadelphia; Dr. B. K. Johnson, Johnstown; Harry McCraw, Monessen; Jesse Thompson, Erie; Dr. George A. Jones, Harrisburg; Ira Thompson, Reading; Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia; Miss Ann Hines, Bryn Mawr; C. L. Moat, Media; Mrs. Sophia B. Nelson, Pittsburgh; Dr. G. A. Walker, Hollidaysburg; George Raymond, Chester.

Officers of the Pennsylvania NAACP Youth Conference are Tessie Blanchard, Erie, re-elected president; James Frazier, Pittsburgh; first vice-president; Joan McLaughlin, Ardmore, second vice-president; Mildred Hiland, Meadville, secretary; Sylvia Richardson, Johnstown, corresponding secretary; Eloise Patterson, Pittsburgh, treasurer; Advisers, both re-elected, are Mrs. Isabel Strickland, Ardmore, and Miss Adeline Blackman, Pittsburgh.

By resolution, the convention instructed all of its branches to set up local FEPC committees to help persons file complaints when they have been refused jobs because of race, creed, color or national origin.

The 1955 Civil Rights Award of the organization was shared by three longtime workers and past presidents of the Pennsylvania NAACP. They are Dr. James A. Gillespie of New Castle, Dr. Harry J. Greene of Philadelphia, who also is president of the Philadelphia branch and a member of the national board of the NAACP, and Mrs. Sophia B. Nelson of Pittsburgh, who was unable to attend because of illness.

Five branches were cited for outstanding activities during the year. The Bucks county branch exceeded its

membership goal and is helping to fight a suit against the builders of Levittown who are refusing to sell homes to Negroes. Johnstown branch also exceeded its membership goal. Higher membership figures were reported by the Philadelphia branch, which is assisting in the Levittown case, and the Pittsburgh branch, which was active in securing a strong FEPC law for the city and is probing police brutality charges. The Connellsville branch was cited for succeeding in getting a new housing project opened on an integrated basis and for helping in a community redevelopment campaign.

Congressman John P. Saylor of Johnstown was the main speaker at the annual banquet Saturday night. In his "Report from Washington," Rep. Saylor praised the Eisenhower administration for eliminating most of the re-

A PICTURE *of the booth constructed by the* 1955 *Freedom Seals Committee for the Los Angeles, California, branch, with Attorney Charles Fielding (at left), chairman of the committee, holding a sheet of Freedom Seals.*

maining segregation in the national capital and in the armed forces. Referring to the South, he said it is a "dastardly blotch on America when people are denied the right to go to the polls and vote."

Louis Mason Jr., assistant administrator of the Pittsburgh FEPC law, said much of the responsibility for making the new state FEPC law work rests with NAACP branches. He said the NAACP must encourage persons of minority groups to file complaints if they are discriminated against, and to publicize the fact that the law protects the person who files a complaint.

The state NAACP voted financial and moral aid to the Brownsville-Uniontown branch in a restaurant discrimination case.

Dr. B. K. Johnson, chairman of the convention committee, reported that the conference, was the largest in the group's 21-year history. A total of 116 registered delegates and observers from 27 branches were present.

National officers in addition to Roy Wilkins who took part in the convention were Herbert Wright, national youth secretary, and John W. Flamer, area field secretary.

The convention next year will be held the last weekend of October in Erie.

Approximately 5,000 people gave almost $3,000 to the freedom fund and PHILADELPHIA branch at the Till mass meeting held at Tindley Temple in October. Moses Wright, Emmett Till's grand-uncle, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Rev. Leonard G. Carr, pastor of the Vine Memorial church, and president Harry J. Greene of the local branch were among the speakers.

An official of the Philadelphia branch has complained to the Albert Rains Congressional sub-committee on housing that fundamentally there is discrimination and segregation of Negroes in the operation of the National Housing Act.

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College and School News

A recent meeting at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE brought together representatives of industry, educators, vocational experts, and the college faculty in a conference to broaden the training of maintenance servicemen and technicians in the TV and radio field.

■

The nation's total of EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION stations reached 18 with new outlets going on the air recently in Chicago, Detroit, Miami, Florida, and Columbus, Ohio. This brings the potential audience for educational stations to 39 million, only one million less than the regularly enrolled school population of the land.

■

The FREEDOMS FOUNDATION at Valley Forge is offering 36 awards to colleges or university groups or organizations carrying on a vital program bearing on the American way of life.

■

The annual report, 1954-55, of NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE and Fund for Negro Students reports a total of nearly 3,300 students it has helped to enroll in interracial colleges. The value of scholarships procured or awarded during the seven years of existence is just short of one million dollars.

"There are now, as a result of the NSSFNS, 'two-way integration' project, 118 students enrolled in 32

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undergraduate (mostly private) formerly all-white or all-Negro colleges and universities in the South. They are being helped with $25,000 in college scholarships, supplemented by $12,000 in NSSFNS awards. Of the students, 110 are Negro and 8 white."

■

The 1955-56 session of THE INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES centers its courses around contemporary ethical conduct. The purpose of the Institute, a graduate school conducted with the cooperation of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant scholars under the auspices of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, is to develop a keener awareness of the religious tradition in the advancement of civilization.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY has received $6,100 in Frederick Gardner Cottrell grants for research in chemistry and physics. The grants, made by the Research Corporation of New York City, have been allocated to Dr. Herman E. Zittel, associate professor of chemistry, and Dr. Gertrude F. Rempfer, associate professor of physics. Dr. Zittel will use the funds for a study of phenothiazine and its derivatives. Dr. Rempfer, holder of several patents for electron lenses, will study electro-staticion optics with her share of the grant.

■

William J. Stebler of Chicago, president of General American Transportation Corporation, was the main speaker at dedication of the

TALLADEGA COLLEGE Union Building on November 6.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host November 18-20 to the mid-Atlantic teen-age regional conference of Jack-and-Jill. Dean T. H. Henderson of Virginia Union University delivered the opening address.

Jack and Jill of America, Inc., is a national organization of mothers of children from 3 to 19 years whose concern is the development of activities which will contribute to the growth and development of their children.

President Samuel DeWitt Proctor of Virginia Union University was guest speaker at VS on November 11 in celebration of American Education Week.

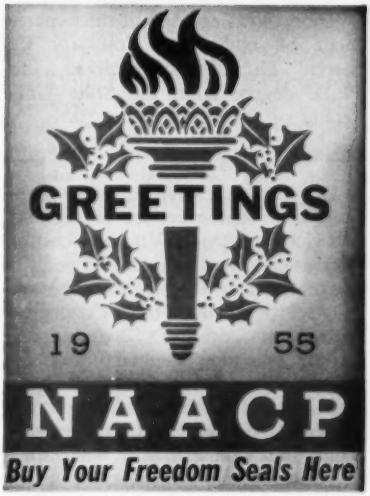
Dr. A. G. Macklin, director of basic education at VSC, has been invited to contribute an article to the General Education Bulletin on the subject of personal and social adjustment in general education.

■

The student council of SHAW UNIVERSITY was installed officially in October by Dr. Foster P. Payne, dean of the college.

■

Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of the chapel at Boston university, delivered the dedication sermon at the Lawless Memorial Chapel on the DILLARD UNIVERSITY campus on October 23. Dr. Thurman's address was the highlight of a series of programs centering around Founders' Day dedication week-end.



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WRITE Bobbie Branch, Director of Seal Campaign, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Thomas J. Ferguson of the department of biology at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY received the Ph.D. degree from the State University of Iowa on August 10.

■

Dr. Samuel DeWitt Proctor, former dean of the school of religion and vice-president of VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY, was inaugurated as fifth president of VUU on November 4.

Dr. Proctor holds the B.A. degree from VUU, the B.D. degree from Crozer Theology Seminary, and the D.Th. degree from Boston university. He also studied in the graduate schools of the University of Pennsylvania and Yale.

The VUU choir of fifty-four voices was presented in a concert at the Schenley high school in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on November 14. The concert was sponsored by the Carron Baptist church, of which Dr. Porter J. Phillips is minister.

■

The Honorable Myers Y. Cooper of Cincinnati and former governor of Ohio (1929-30) addressed the CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE faculty and students on November 3 during a special recognition program honoring Dr. Wilber A. Page, who completed his term of office on the college board of trustees in June 1955.

Former Governor Cooper appointed Dr. Page to the college trustee board in 1930, and since that time the honoree has served as trustee, secretary of the board, and headed major committees intermittently, and continuously since 1951.

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■

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse college, was college inaugural speaker at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE on November 3 when William Henry Dennis, Jr., became third president of the institution.

A Georgia boy who went off to Connecticut, grew up, won recognition in sculpturing and painting, studied two years as a Fulbright scholar at the University of London, and who has been widely acclaimed as a restorer in the area of archeological science, has returned to his native state as assistant professor of art education at Albany State. He is Samuel L. Green of Waycross, Georgia.

Dr. Willard F. Harper, formerly professor of French at Dillard, comes to Albany as head of the foreign language department.

■

The Wesley Foundation of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was host in October to a statewide meeting of the Methodist Student Movement Council. The schools represented included the University of Missouri, Central Missouri State Teachers college, Missouri School of Mines, Northeast State college, Southeast State college, and Southwest State college.

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